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THE POLISH REVIEW

VOL. VIII JANUARY 15, 1948 No. 1



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A CHRISTMAS GIFT OF 4 MILLION POUNDS FOR POLISH CHILDREN

Children from the Sacred Heart Parish in New York, who took active part in the collection of food, watch the loading of the first part of the shipment for the children of Poland. This American gift will be distributed in Poland by branches of "Caritas".

The first Christmas shipment, made up of 750,000 pounds

of canned goods, is part of the 4,000,000 pounds of food stuffs designated by the Bishops' Committee for Poland. Supplies amounting to 40 million pounds were collected in all Catholic parishes in the United States during the Thanksgiving Week collection campaign. The campaign was conducted by the National Catholic Welfare Committee—War Relief Services, Father Alois Wycislo, Chairman of the Polish Section.

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THE POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS AND MIKOLAJCZYK

OFFICIALS of the Polish American Congress and Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, accompanied by two other members of the Presidium of the Polish Peasant Party, of which Mikolajczyk is president, met in a two-day session in Chicago, December 15 and 16, 1947 and later issued a statement setting forth their agreement on principles including the following ten points:

- "1. The representatives of the Polish American Congress and the Presidium of the Polish Peasant Party declare that imposition upon Poland of a bloody Communist dictatorship calls for the union of all forces working to regain the independence of Poland.
- "2. The representatives of the Polish American Congress and the Presidium of the Polish Peasant Party stand for a fight against Communism as the greatest danger that confronts the world in general and the United States and Poland in particular.
- "3. The representatives of the Polish American Congress and the Presidium of the Polish Peasant Party declare that the Warsaw regime does not represent the Polish people, but is a foreign agency imposed upon Poland by fictitious elections.
- "4. The representatives of the Polish American Congress and the Presidium of the Polish Peasant Party regard it as both necessary and timely to warn the American public of the danger from Communist Russia.
- "5. In the matter of the defense of the independence of Poland, both Congress Polonia and the Presidium of the Polish Peasant Party consider that they should cooperate in this action with all Polish elements working toward that goal.
- "6. This conference looks upon the pact concluded at Yalta without Polish participation as the greatest of evils, all the more so as the failure to carry out that pact deprived all Poland of independence. And for that reason the representatives of the Polish American Congress and the Presidium of the Polish Peasant Party obligate themselves to work for the rectification of that wrong.
- "7. The conference declares that the defense of the western boundaries of Poland is an obligation resting upon all Poles regardless of their political affiliation, and that the Congress of Polonia and the Presidium of the Polish Peasant Party will work toward that end in the United States, along with this, stressing the danger for Poland, the United States and the entire world that would result from the rebirth of German imperialism.
- "8. To avoid misunderstandings, harmful alike to the Polish cause and American Polonia and the United States, the Conference has agreed that any activity of the Presidium of the Polish Peasant Party within Polonia, will be undertaken in agreement with the Polish American Congress.
- "9. The Presidium of the Polish Peasant Party, recognizing the importance of the work that has been carried on for the Polish cause by the Polish Amer-

ican Congress, cordially welcomes the cooperation of this organization and expresses the conviction that the support of the Polish American Congress will assist the work of the Presidium of the Polish Peasant Party and be of great advantage to the Polish cause.

- "10. The representatives of the Polish American Congress, expressing their joy over the fortunate escape of the Presidium of the Polish Peasant Party from the paws of the Communist moloch, welcome the members of the Presidium to America, believing that our common effort will bring good results for the Polish cause."

All those taking part in the conference are reported to have agreed to the contents of the ten points in the above-quoted statement.

Commenting on the results of the conference, William Philip Simms, writing in the Washington Daily News says in part:

"An understanding of far-reaching importance between former Premier Stanislaw Mikolajczyk and the Polish American Congress has just been reached in Chicago. Thus the split in the ranks of the Poles in exile and Americans and others of Polish origin has been repaired when it was most needed. According to the Chicago agreement, as it is called, Mr. Mikolajczyk will now join forces with 6,000,000 Polish Americans—and presumably with Free Poles elsewhere to fight for a 'truly independent, strong Poland'."

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Poland and Atlantic Charter

A Plea for Self-Determination and Territorial Integrity by First Anti-Nazi Ally*

SINCE General Marshall has invoked the Atlantic Charter in his plea for a revision of the western frontiers of Poland I should like to recall that that charter was meant to form the basis of the new European settlement after the conclusion of the war against Germany.

In his declarations of Nov. 27 General Marshall expressed the desire to invoke the charter—for the first time—in favor of an ex-enemy state and against an Allied country, which was first to resist the Nazi aggressor. We Poles, like the other nations of central Europe, expected and were entitled to expect that the sound principles of that charter would apply first and foremost in settling the fate of the 120,000,000 people who live in the "middle zone" between Germany and Russia. But actually, the provisions of that charter have been willfully ignored and violated in the case of Poland, one-half of whose national territory has been given to the Soviet Union; in the case of Romania, whose two provinces—Bessarabia and Bukovina—have been torn from her body and handed over to Russia, and in the case of the Baltic states, three of which have been wholly annexed by the Soviets, while the fourth—Finland—has been grievously mutilated to satisfy the appetites of her greedy neighbor. The present political status of all the countries of the "middle zone" is a challenge to all the principles proclaimed in the charter. This present status is the result of the cynical Big Three transactions at Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam, where the whole of that vast, ancient and civilized part of Europe has been abandoned to the clutches of Soviet Russia.

The invocation of the Atlantic Charter by that powerful personage, the United States Secretary of State, would have been greeted with much satisfaction and high hopes by all of us, if his statement could be construed—as it should have been—as an indication that American foreign policy is undergoing a change, and will strive to achieve a radical revision of conditions prevailing at present throughout central-eastern Europe. Indeed, all the nations of our unhappy zone are longingly expecting such a change, which would be in keeping with the principles of the Atlantic Charter. But since no hint of the intent to apply the charter to rescue the helpless victims of Russian aggression and oppression is forthcoming, Mr. Marshall's statement may seem to all concerned to be but a slip, whose sole result may be to provide Soviet and Communist propaganda with new ammunition in depicting throughout the Soviet zone the English-speaking powers as the promoters of German imperialism and blackmailing Germany's neighbors into yet greater submissiveness by dangling before their eyes the specter of German revisionism.

A return to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and its integral application would be the best way out of the difficulties created by the policy of appeasing Russia and spineless subservience to Russian imperialism. But the battle for the Atlantic Charter and the future of Europe should be waged in Helsinki, Tallin, Riga, Kovno, Wilno, Warsaw, Lwow, Bucharest, Budapest, Bratislava, Prague, Belgrade, Sofia and Tirana, and not on the Oder or the Neisse.

PROFESSOR ADAM PRAGIER.
London, Dec. 14, 1947.

*The letter to the Editor of the *New York Herald Tribune* by Prof. Adam Pragier, noted Polish scholar and Minister of Information in the Polish Constitutional Government in London, published by the *New York Herald Tribune*, "Opinion of the Week" section, on December 28, 1947.

The Truth About the Polish Boundary Dispute at Yalta

By CHARLES ROZMAREK
President, Polish American Congress, Inc.

The following statement dealing with the Yalta Conference discussions of Poland's boundaries was prepared by Charles Rozmarek, President of the Polish American Congress, Inc., representing six million Americans of Polish descent. Mr. Rozmarek explains some of the underlying facts concerning the border discussions which he declares were not revealed in former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes' book, "Speaking Frankly."

IN ONE of the installments of Mr. Byrnes' "Speaking Frankly," printed in the Hearst papers and dealing with the Polish boundary dispute at the Yalta Conference, there were opinions and statements which do not correspond to historical facts and documents. Stalin presented his claims to Polish territories by cleverly distorting the truth. Now, the American public should be given the true facts underlying the situation.

According to Mr. Byrnes, President Roosevelt "felt that Poland's eastern boundary should generally follow the so-called Curzon Line" but he still held "that it would be desirable to adjust the southern end of the line so that the city of Lwow and at least a portion of the oil fields should be inside Polish territory."

Stalin opposed those endeavors. He is quoted by Mr. Byrnes as saying:

"The Curzon Line is the line of Curzon and Clemenceau . . . Lenin was not in agreement with the Curzon Line . . . Now some people want that we should be less Russian than Curzon was and Clemenceau was. You would drive us into shame . . ."

Stalin here made it appear that Clemenceau and Curzon were speaking of a Polish-Russian frontier. As a matter of fact, that was neither Clemenceau's nor Curzon's meaning or wording. As is evident from Mr. Byrnes' story, nobody at the time exposed the fact that Stalin was distorting and falsifying declaration of Dec. 8, 1919, as well as Curzon's note to the Soviet Government of July 11, 1920.

The Clemenceau declaration expressed and contained the decision of the Supreme Council of the Versailles Peace Conference. The declaration text makes it entirely clear that Clemenceau and his American and British partners in the Supreme Council, in establishing the line of Polish administration (the so-called Clemenceau line):

(1) Had no intention of tracing and actually DID NOT TRACE A POLISH-RUSSIAN BOUNDARY;

(2) Distinctly recognized the rights of Poland TO CLAIM FURTHER TERRITORIES situated to the east of the Clemenceau Line;

(3) Did not touch or decide anything regarding the former Austrian territory (i. e. GALICIA, where Lwow and the oil fields were situated), since the Supreme Council expressly referred to "territories of the FORMER RUSSIAN EMPIRE."

The so-called Curzon Line was proposed by Britain to the Soviet Government merely as an ARMISTICE LINE between the Polish and the Red Armies at a moment when the Bolsheviks threatened to crush Poland and to gain control of Central Europe. The future boundary between Poland and Russia was to be established at a peace conference, anticipated by the same British proposal.

It should be remembered also that this very line WAS
(Please turn to page 13)

CERTAIN ASPECTS OF LIFE IN POLAND TODAY

AN EDITORIAL

ABSTRACT

THE FOLLOWING information is based on conversations with Poles who have only recently come out of Poland. They are persons of the highest intelligence and integrity; furthermore, they have had extraordinary opportunities to observe the Polish situation from angles inaccessible to the average person.

One of the first questions I asked concerned the present underground in Poland. Does it actually exist? It does, but as a political organization, not as an armed resistance movement. Under the German occupation the Polish underground was highly organized, wide in extent, and both active and effective. The Germans, brutal as they were in executing apprehended underground workers and exacting reprisals, were systematic and methodical. Once the Poles learned the German administrative procedure, they could carry on, for though they ran great risks and many Poles lost their lives, the Germans had not the cleverness and craft of the Bolsheviks with their terrible secret police.

Moreover, neither the underground leaders nor underground tactics used under the Germans could be employed under the Russians, who through their partisans in Poland had a complete list of Polish underground leaders and arrested them as soon as the Red Army entered Poland in 1944.

Under the Soviet-imposed regime in Poland it is not possible to hold camouflaged underground meetings in the guise of home concerts, family celebrations, or such like, where the real purpose would be discussion of political work. For in all probability one of the persons present would be an agent of the secret police, planted in that group as an informer. Under such circumstances it is understandable that only persons of proved character and loyalty are accepted as members of the underground; and not always then. They may be held in a sort of reserve—regarded as ready to answer a call if the time should arrive when they are needed. This minimizes the danger for all—the less a person knows about secret matters the less he can tell and the less danger of suspicion resting upon him.

Infiltration is a word that should have special attention in any discussion of Soviet methods and plans. In the three years since the puppets assumed power in Poland Soviet use of infiltration as a means of taking over existing organizations has been clearly demonstrated. Hence, with meetings even in small groups out of the question, Polish patriots have only rare opportunities, seized as they present themselves, for firsthand communication.

During the German occupation there were many underground Polish papers, each with a large circulation. These papers gave excellent reports on what was happening abroad as well as in Poland. Copies were sold on the city streets and German officials found copies containing notices of their sentence to death by the underground on their desks when they arrived for their day's work; and they never learned how those papers got there. But under the Bolsheviks it is not possible to maintain secret printing presses or for editorial staffs to prepare a paper. Nothing corresponding to Pilsudski's printing and distribution of bibula under tsarist Russia's domination of Poland can exist in Soviet-enslaved Poland. There are a few mimeographed sheets, but these have a small and guarded circulation.

The strict check on change of residence of every individual in Poland is another means of controlling the

population. The citizen's identification documents are very detailed, even to fingerprints. If a newcomer in a neighborhood cannot show good reason for his being there, suspicion of his intentions or his past makes him an object of interest to the police. It is very difficult, then, for a person shadowed in one area to find safety in another district.

Because of the close police control and the complete lack of freedom of speech and action the Poles have become convinced that little can be done from the inside to regain Polish independence. The vast majority of those who under the Germans felt it to be their duty to stay in Poland and "hold out" until victory in arms was won outside, while they in Poland contributed to that victory through sabotage of the German effort and with the Home Army's active participation in the final liberation of their country, under the Moscow-imposed regime have been and are anxious to get out of Poland and to the West. It is said that the number of Poles attempting to leave the country illegally during the last two years surely amounts to half a million.

Papers published in Poland must conform in their political views to those of the regime. Papers and periodicals cannot be sent freely to individuals from abroad, but they can be sent to libraries, universities, and other institutions of higher learning. The Poles are hungry for news from outside. Many of them read English and more are learning. They cannot make use of the reading rooms established by the British and American embassies, for frequenting of such places makes them marked individuals. But suspicion does not attach itself to persons using English-language material in Polish libraries—at least not yet. But this avenue of approach to the Poles is not being taken advantage of as it should be by Americans.

Another avenue of approach and at the same time a means of refuting the absurd charges brought against America by the Soviet stooges is the radio. There are still radios in Poland over which people can get the "Voice of America;" and what a pity it is that that "Voice" does not occupy more time in Polish and speak more plainly on questions of the day. While the short wave broadcasts are still reaching the Poles, America and Britain have a means at their disposal of getting the truth directly to these people who are constantly regaled with lies about us.

Despite American and British betrayal of Poland, the Poles still cling to the belief that the Western nations are their friends, while Polish hatred of the USSR is universal. But there is one feature of the Polish attitude toward America that should be well noted. That is, the Pole's feeling, frenziedly built up by the Soviets through their stooges, that America advocates reconstruction of a strong Germany while at the same time withholding help from Poland, Germany's victim; and secondly, American refusal to recognize the Oder-Neisse Rivers as the western Polish boundary. Those two points are Soviet trumps with the Poles, particularly the second point. The Poles argue that without consulting them, the British and Americans at Tehran and Yalta and Potsdam shifted Poland's frontiers, giving nearly half of Poland to Moscow but moving Poland's western boundary to the Oder. It was not we who asked for this, say the Poles. You did it. And now having taken away all our Eastern lands you want to go back on your word and take away the "compensation." At your orders we were moved out of our own territories and settled in

the "new West." And we do not intend to be moved out of these new homes.

Secretary Marshall's speech on the German-Polish frontier has supplied plenty of grist which the puppet mills have not been slow to grind. The USSR recognizes the Oder-Neisse line. So do the British, say the Poles, presenting Sir Alexander Cadogan's letter on the British Government's position as evidence. But "imperialist" America does not. And along with condemnation of America on that point they utterly condemn the Marshall Plan.

With reference to the Marshall plan, I asked my informants if the oft suggested idea that if the western European countries are economically reconstructed under the Marshall Plan the eastern countries will be drawn out of the Russian orbit and into the West, has any basis in reality. They were positive in their replies that such ideas are sheer nonsense. As long as Moscow controls Poland, it cannot of its own will move into the Western sphere. Bluntly speaking, the Kremlin never lets go of anything it once gets in its power, unless it is forced to loosen its grasp.

Actually the Poles do not know just what the American attitude is with regard to Polish boundaries. Therefore, if our Government should, for example, repudiate the Yalta accord, stating definitely that it stands for Polish-Soviet frontiers as they were in August 1939; that any changes in that frontier should be made at the peace table and not before; that Polish western boundaries should be extended to include some of eastern Germany as partial compensation for the irreparable damage the Germans caused Poland, such compensation to include most of Lower Silesia, part of German Pomerania, and all of East Prussia except a small northeastern area that should go to a free Lithuania—then the Polish attitude toward America would become definitely favorable.

On the necessity of a federation of Eastern European states after their independence has been restored, the Poles are united. Through underground channels they are even now working with representatives of neighboring countries. Poles know that a strong federation reaching from the Baltic Sea far to the south—they fix no definite limits—is the only answer to the question of how to keep Germany or Russia or both in alliance from absorbing all that lies between them and incidentally upsetting world peace.

Of course no such federation can materialize until the Soviet Union is forced to withdraw to frontiers generally recognized as right and proper. And while the Poles look with dread upon another war, they say "Things just can't go on as they are," and the question they anxiously put is not, Will there be another war? but, When will war come? They are convinced that with the outbreak of war between the defenders of civilization and Christianity on the one hand and the exponents of barbarism and human slavery on the other, their day of freedom will dawn. Poles naturally hope that their country will not again be a battlefield, that the arena will this time be outside Europe altogether.

Will Moscow compel the fictitious Polish Parliament to petition for inclusion of Poland in the Soviet Union, becoming the 17th Soviet Republic? The Poles answer in the affirmative, but do not attempt to name the date. That will depend, they say, upon the course of international events. In the meantime the Bolsheviks steadily proceed with the strengthening of their hold on Polish life. They know that they cannot trust Poles, famous

throughout their long history for their devotion to freedom, to carry out Moscow's plan for the enslavement of their motherland. Therefore Russians, some with polanized names, some descendants of russified Polish families of long ago, others making no pretense at being anything but Russian, have been settled strategically all over Poland and placed in positions of trust, with Poles in those farther down the ladder. These people now have Polish citizenship, just as all Red Army men demobilized in Poland automatically became citizens of Poland. The real leaders in the Polish puppet government who are bona fide Polish citizens are not Polish in nationality. They belong to that Jewish group fanatically devoted to Moscow. The Poles regard the Polish members of the regime as figureheads and not the brains.

Are Poles still being deported to Russia? The Polish people are convinced that they are although they cannot prove it. But hundreds of people disappear, one at a time, taken from their homes during the night, and are never heard of again. If they are kept in prison in Poland it may not be made known where they are but the family usually learns that they are under arrest. If they are executed, they are reported to have died of pneumonia or a heart attack or something of that sort. If they are sent to a forced labor camp news reaches their people. But these other mysterious disappearances—they can be accounted for only through deportation.

As for arrest and sentence to prison or labor, that is extremely common. No reflection upon the regime or the Soviet Union is tolerated. A verdict of 5 to 6 years imprisonment for any slight criticism or manifestation of doubt of the policies of the regime is not uncommon. Criminals fare much better than "politicals." As already stated the police have complete records of every citizen and if at any time it seems desirable to get rid of a person charges can readily be prepared — though he may not learn what they are until he is brought up for sentence months after arrest. It is interesting to note that Poles have been arrested and sentenced in 1940 and after for having fought in the Polish army against the Bolsheviks in 1920.

Why is it, I asked my informants, that in these so-called Polish trials the accused always plead guilty and frequently almost grovel before their persecutors? The reply is that the procedure is the same as that followed in the USSR. Prisoners are kept months in prison, isolated from friends and relatives, subjected to an almost incredible series of refined tortures between the long "investigations" in order to break their will. They are given a prepared statement intended to be the basis of their replies, and until they have been so broken that their answers during the investigation are mere repetition of the statements prepared for them, they are each time returned to their cell. When they have their "lesson" perfect they are ready to be brought forward for one of the "show" trials. Naturally charges in the "trials" of this sort have at least a semblance of fact. But this is used by the regime as an opportunity to concoct a distorted case that serves their particular purpose, at present that of discrediting America.

Is there an abundance of food in Poland? No. Foreign visitors write and talk about the quantities of good, even luxurious food in the stores and restaurants. Had the Polish people money enough to buy what they need, those store shelves and restaurant tables would be bare in no time. Wages and salaries are low, out of all propor-

(Please turn to page 15)

DYNAMIC FOREIGN POLICY IN 1948 NEEDED

By ANTHONY B. ATAR

WE ARE entering a year of grave responsibilities. Indeed it is not an overstatement to say that the type of program the democracies undertake in 1948 may determine the future of Western civilization. If in this year the Western world fails to wake up and commence a real offensive to defeat the Soviet menace and Communism, in another year it may be too late. There is no use kidding ourselves. The Soviet Union is on the march to destroy the Christian, Western type of life and unless its efforts are soon frustrated we are in for a long period of chaos and terror.

The problem today is to know exactly what we want and where we are heading. Moscow has definite plans and puts them forcefully and consistently into execution. While Russia moves ahead, our part of the world is still hesitating on what course to take.

The second phase of the Congressional debate on the Marshall Plan starts early this month. The political program behind the plan devised will determine whether or not American help is effective. This is a great responsibility, not only toward the American people who must provide the funds but also toward the world. It cannot be another nebulous project based on the assumption that showing a carrot to the hungry can change the whole world. It is not that simple.

This illusion seems to be the core of the weakness typical of the various approaches to the European Recovery Program. In its recent form devised by the State Department it appears to be counting exclusively on the unlimited attraction American economic help will have for all the European nations. Not only is this help expected to assure the survival of Western Europe, but also to influence the Soviet zone to turn westward. This is a dream of an "Alice in Wonderland."

First, the oppressed nations under Soviet control do wish to participate in the Marshall Plan, but they are not permitted to do so. And certainly nothing can compel their present bosses, veteran leaders of the Comintern entrenched in Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and elsewhere, to change their course. Nothing can happen in that area without Soviet consent. Thus the East can join the West only on Moscow's terms, that is, American credits to be used against America, exchange of goods to help the Soviet zone to re-arm more quickly.

Second, American material help to Western Europe can solve the economic and social problems of these countries, but it will not answer all the questions the Russian offensive is presenting. The European conflict is not a "social revolution," as some antiquated minds would like to think. It has passed that stage long ago.

The modern revolution is no longer a fight for the betterment of the workers' lot or for agrarian reform. The issue today is: who will obey Moscow and who will defy the Politburo and Cominform. Thus it is a spiritual and national problem, a matter of convictions and moral strength.

Russia is using economic and labor problems only for tactical purposes. Marxian class warfare is no longer a Communist aim in itself. Submission of entire nations to the Kremlin's will—this is their present goal. In the French and Italian labor disputes the Communists have often in the past opposed strikes and the demands of workers. They precipitated strikes only when this suited their plans. Eventually French and Italian labor split into two blocs, but not according to the wage or social reforms these groups desired. Instead, the question was whether or not labor should be subservient to Russian dictation. Unwilling to submit to the orders of a foreign power, workers broke with the Communist-Socialist front.

The story of the collapse of the French and Italian strikes should be a lesson to all realistic minds. It teaches that we are today in a period of spiritual and political crisis, and by no means in one of an economic or social type. This is a characteristic of our times. Living in insecurity and in fear of a possible new war, peoples and nations expect the great powers to give them not bread alone, but moral leadership and strength as well. They hope that while they, impoverished and weak, can only passively resist, the strong will challenge the evil and win. Consequently Europe cannot "save itself" with the assistance of American money and food alone. The United States and Great Britain will have to answer the Soviet ideological and political offensive with an equally strong offensive of their own. Russia must cease to be "the inevitable" for Europeans if the battle is to be won.

The modern Soviet concept is one of Communist nationalism, which subordinates national independence to the broader interests of a future World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Against this stands the will of the Europeans—east and west of the Iron Curtain—for true independence and self-government. Between these two loyalties there can be no compromise one or the other of them must eventually win.

In this conflict of minds, the Soviet Union appears to non-Communists as a conqueror and oppressor. The Democracies must assume the role of liberators. This is their best trump card. American help behind a dynamic program of liberation of peoples and nations, and a return to human and Christian dignity within a free world, — if the European Recovery Program is to fulfill its task, — must be the American program for 1948.

OBSERVATIONS

By PERISCOPE

PRESIDENT TRUMAN recently referred to "the freedom-loving countries of Western Europe." The countries of Eastern Europe love freedom also, the more so since they have all lost it because of Yalta.

The President also referred to a "a world of free people." How Poland would love to be a part of such a world!

The Russians of the USSR, governed by an association of predatory plundering exploiters, represented here recently by blustering, boastful, bumptious Vishinsky, they also would like a little freedom. Perhaps some day, when the gremlin in the Kremlin has passed on, they will take it.

"We have learned that, if we want to live in freedom and security, we must work with all the world for freedom and security." President Truman. That sounds to me like a call to work with free Poles outside Poland to secure the freedom of the Poles inside Poland. And from whom is the security to be? Who else but the USSR?

Definition of "reactionary." One who reacts strongly against Russian concentration camps, forced labor camps, government by secret police, deprivation of human rights, the seizing of neighbor states, the deportation and enslavement of millions, and other aspects of contemporary USSR policy. God give us more "reactionaries."

Mystery question. How can any decent person inscribe himself a "friend of the Soviet Union" with its 30-year record of such brutal practises as the world has never before seen? I don't hold hands with that crowd. In fact, I hold my nose.

The Russians "agree in principle" but as they have no principles there is of course no area of agreement.

Remember this about all Poles in exile. They are penalized because they have been loyal to Poland and preserved their honor. As a reward for that loyalty they have no country, no property, no rights, no prospects, and only broken lives and broken families. I do not want any of that guilt on my American shoulders. Therefore I repudiate Yalta and all its consequences.

The abbreviation for minister is min. Doubtless by that same token the abbreviation for puppet is pup. I understand that pup-min. Cyrankiewicz, the present premier of the Warsaw regime, will soon have the skids put under him and be replaced as No. 1 pup. by pup. Minc, the present minister of economic confusion.

An American statesman said recently, relative to a proposed action, "We shall be acting once more in the great American tradition, which is to foster the independence of other countries." Please direct some of that fostering toward Eastern Europe. It would be quite a reversal of policy after selling Poland down the river at Yalta.

What pathos is this perverted patriotism of the deceived and deluded Russian peasants and proletariat, robbed by the land buccaneers who rule over them and are driving them to adventures that will inevitably work their ruin and destruction!

Apropos of the celebration of the 30th

birthday of the USSR. Some of us who were young at that time well remember the wave of social idealism which greeted the overthrow of the Czarist regime in Russia in 1917, before the Bolsheviks took over. Into what a morass of political filth it has all now bogged down!

General Kukiel, minister of national defense in the legal Polish Government in London, has given out the following figures as to the size of the Polish forces at the close of the war. In round numbers, the land army, 230,000. Air force, 14,000. In the naval forces, 4,000.

I do not like to hear British leaders talk about how they "stood alone" in the autumn of 1940. They did not stand alone. That is an ungracious forgetting of the Polish air force which brought down 10% of all destroyed German planes in the Battle of Britain.

Message of the Russian Government to the French Government. Boiled down it is, "If you won't let us destroy your country we will sever relations with you."

Let us designate the Communist Party in America by its right name and refer to it as the Russian Party.

Before the war the Polish Government had roughly 200 autos for the use of government employees. Now this "new democracy" uses 2,680 passenger autos. To the cost of the cars, add the cost of operation and upkeep.

Ilya Ehrenburg, that most fertile and imaginative of all Russian liars, spent the last half of November in Poland. It will be interesting to see what his creative pen gives birth to.

A memorandum, recently delivered to Trygve Lie, United Nations secretary general, by the Lithuanian Committee of National Liberation, and published by the Swedish daily, SVENSKA DAGBLADET, contains much interesting information. An average of 2 to 3 thousand persons are arrested each month — and as the Soviet authorities are now bent on the liquidation of Lithuanian intellectuals, professors, teachers, writers and publishers, they are being arrested en masse and thrown into prisons and concentration camps. The intellectuals form about 10% of the prisoners who are deported by the trainload toward the East without any judiciary formalities and even without hearing.

About the most brazen thing out of Moscow to date is their broadcast saying "Small countries can defend their independence only by relying on the Soviet Union." This gem is passed on to us by the official British and American agencies listening to what these birds are saying.

"An American military tribunal has sentenced Frederick Flick, German industrialist, to seven years imprisonment for exploiting slave labor and looting occupied countries," says an Associated Press dispatch from Nuremberg. That is good. By close analogy every high official in the Soviet Government would get a life sentence. That would be even better.

Out of the late 18th century came four splendid ideals and hopes, realities in the

prospect of their attainment, not idle dreams or vague aspirations. They were, freedom, individuality, humanitarianism, democracy. Our own United States of America was the world's first attempt to realize them in political fact and national organization. From our land the application of these four ideals spread to other lands, made concrete only in small part, to be sure, but indicating a departure from slavery and tyranny to nobler things. Today Russia turns the clock back, and from Russia issues the most violent and terrible effort the world has ever seen to make those words, freedom, individuality, humane action, and democracy lost hopes.

The other day I ran across a true gem, from old Walrus Whiskers Joe himself. It is a sentence in his "Report on the 27th Anniversary of the October Revolution. (1944)." "The peoples of the Soviet Union respect the rights and independence of peoples abroad and always have been ready to live in peace and friendship with neighboring states." Well, I guess the joker lies here: the peoples so desire, but not the Soviet Government. And what "the peoples" desire, plays no role in Russia.

So Russia wants the Ruhr. Now isn't it just too bad that it is not going to get the Ruhr. Such a peace-loving, just, honorable, non-expanding, democratic state as the USSR ought to be allowed to grab everything it wants that it may the earlier work our destruction. But maybe we do not want to be destroyed. In general, anything that Russia wants is a good thing for us to keep them from getting.

Most Americans are beginning to catch up with reality and recognize the true nature of the Soviet Union and its puppet regimes. But there are still those who think that we can do business with Stalin. The theologians have a word for it. They "sin against the light."

Those well informed expect to see Slovakia separated from Czechy and incorporated into the USSR. What a farce. It is one of the most Catholic countries of Europe. The sickle cuts them down and the hammer mashes them in. Usual technique. The Slovaks will "demand" that they be taken into the Soviet Union. One of these days, oh! one of these days, the mills of the gods will grind that Soviet Union to powder.

During the war we went through a period as regards Russia of what the Yale sociologist W. G. Sumner called "antagonistic cooperation." Now the Russians have themselves killed American "cooperation" so all that remains is "antagonism." It's just as well.

The pup. bureaucracy in Poland is growing enormously in number of state employees in nice warm seats. The present number is 249,459. Before the war the number of state employees was 150,916. The ministry of railroads, which before the war had 2,839 employees, now has 6,512. In the national industries even a regime paper says the number of employees is 50% too large.

The Russian and puppet prostitution of the words "democracy" and "democratic" imposes upon us the necessity of keeping constantly in mind the fact of two different uses of these terms. To Christians of the

(Please turn to page 15)

WIT STWOSZ AND HIS GREAT ALTAR-PIECE IN CRACOW

By DR. IRENA PIOTROWSKA

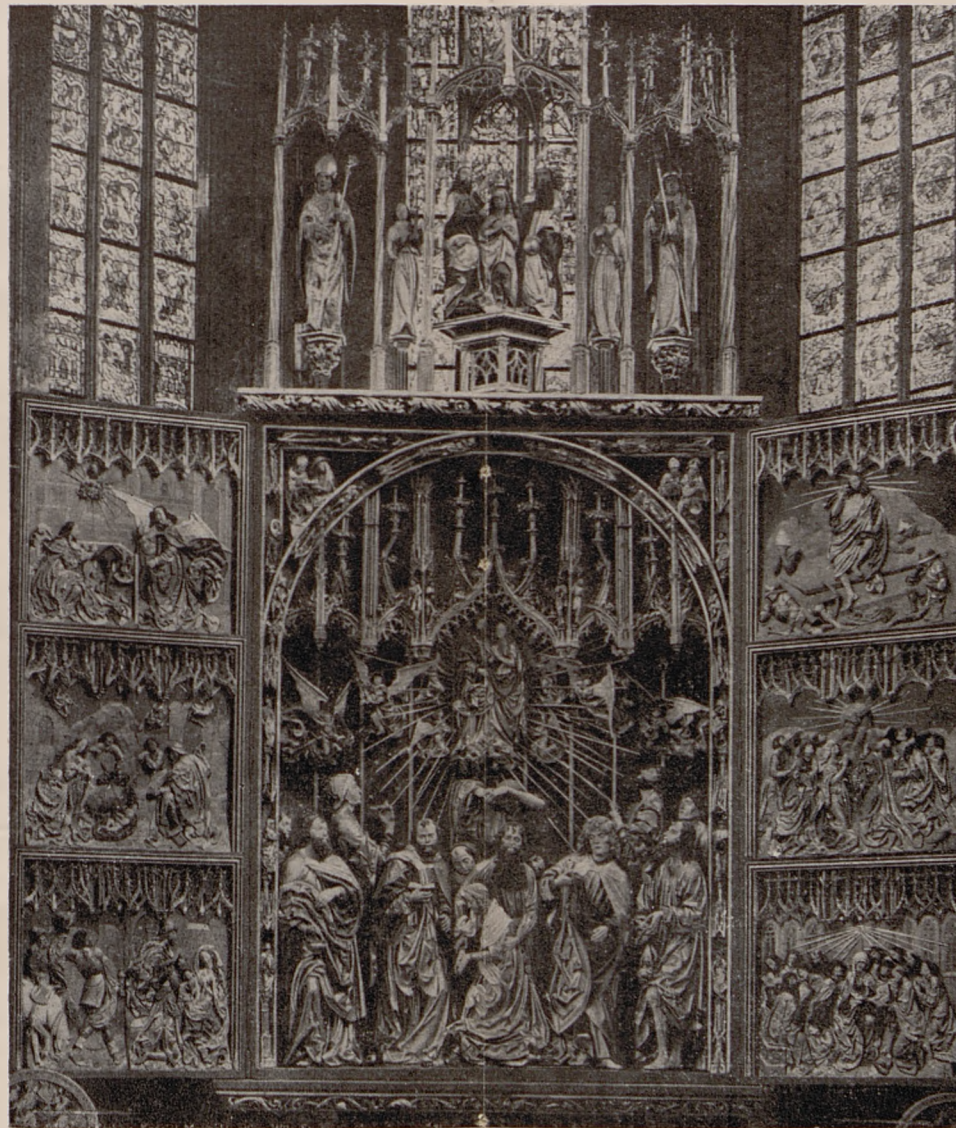
WIT STWOSZ, pronounced *vit stvosh*, is the popular Polish name of the creator of the world-famous wooden polychrome triptych carved in honor of the Blessed Virgin for the Church of Our Lady in Cracow, an altar-piece unequalled in beauty and grandeur. However, certain Polish scholars prefer to call the artist Wit Stosz, and the Germans call him Veit Stoss. The differences in the spelling of the artist's name are as old as his own signatures and as the first documents mentioning him, since in the Middle Ages spelling followed no rules and neither the artists themselves nor the chroniclers showed any care for consistency. In Poland the spelling Wit Stwosz is used because of a signature made by the artist's own hand on the tomb of the Polish King Casimir Jagiello: EIT STVOS, that Latin signature, transliterated into Polish becomes Wit Stwosz.

Neither the place nor the date of birth of Stwosz is known. It is assumed, however, that he was born circa 1445, and it is known that he died in 1533. The Polish origin of the artist is disputed by the Germans who claim that he was born in Nurnberg. There exists no written evidence that would either prove or disprove their claim. But nothing can change the fact that in Cracow Wit Stwosz spent his most happy and successful years, that here he developed his original style and produced his most perfect work. It was in Poland that this great master of woodcarving was first fully recognized and appreciated. In Poland he lived a truly artistic life,

enjoyed the friendship of the most outstanding personalities of her capital, accumulated considerable wealth. After a nineteen-year sojourn in Cracow Wit Stwosz left for Nurnberg, where abused and losing his fortune, he became entangled in various affairs that deprived him of the peace of mind so necessary for creative productivity.

The first document referring to the sculptor is dated 1477 and indicates that the artist was at the time in Nurnberg. But he left no work in Nurnberg which would date from that period. Other documents tell us that this very year Stwosz began the renowned Cracow altar-piece, which, in fact, is Wit Stwosz's first known authenticated work. There is no doubt that in his younger years Stwosz, like all contemporary artists, travelled extensively, studying and perfecting his skill. The style of all his works shows very clearly that he must have travelled in southern Germany and that he was acquainted with the art of the Low Countries. His last stop before Cracow was Nurnberg. On the other hand, the fact that the citizens of Cracow entrusted the young artist with such an extraordinarily responsible task, is evidence that he must have been familiar to them, that they had faith both in his talent and his character.

Toward the end of the 15th century, Cracow, as the capital of Poland, was approaching the zenith of its development, introductory to the Golden Age of Poland's art and culture, which started with the beginning of the next century. Poland of the late Middle Ages had well-established trade and art connections with many towns of western Europe, and while numerous foreign artists settled in Poland to execute works of art for Polish churches and the wealthy burghers, a number of prominent Poles went abroad to contribute, through their knowledge and skill, to the development of art in other nations. Thus, for instance, at the very time that Wit Stwosz worked in Cracow, Jan Polak, painter of Polish origin, was a leading master of the Bavarian school, and almost simultaneously, in 1490 to be exact, Stanislaus Polonus, another Pole, established a large printing house in Seville, Spain, where he published a number of strikingly beautiful books.



Wit Stwosz Altar-Piece.

Small wonder that flourishing Cracow became a fruitful field of activity for the genius of Wit Stwosz. Aside from the gigantic altar-piece at St. Mary's, on which the artist worked from 1477 to 1489, he produced many other masterpieces in Poland, especially tombs, among them the aforementioned tomb of King Casimir Jagiello. Wit Stwosz enjoyed such a reputation among Cracow citizens that they voted his exemption from city taxes. Here he married and established his home. Nevertheless in 1496, in response to tempting calls from Nurnberg, he left Cracow for good and continued his creative activity for many years in Germany. But his life of inner Peace and pleasant circumstances seems now to have given way to one of troubles and tragedies.

Meanwhile in Poland he left successors who spread his ideas, among them his eldest son, Stanislaus Stwosz, wood-carver and goldsmith of great merit. It may safely be said, that Wit Stwosz's influence never ended in Poland, for his splendid altar-piece in Cracow has been an inspiration to all generations of Polish artists.

In the late Gothic style, standing more than forty feet high, filling the whole breadth of the choir in the spacious 14th-century Church of Our Lady, it is one of the finest altar-pieces in the world. The same style, the same creative power radiate through every detail. It is carved in wood, the favorite medium of all Polish sculptors. Though he was also a painter, an engraver on copper, and a worker in marble and in bronze, it is as a woodcarver, in accord with Polish tradition, that Stwosz reached his highest fame. On the other hand, his greatest contemporaries in Nurnberg specialized in other media; Adam Kraft in stone, Peter Vischer in bronze. Furthermore, his immense altar-piece in Cracow is stylistically distinct from the works he created later in Germany. It forms part of Poland's spiritual heritage.

It consists of a predella; of the chief panel, directly above the predella; of two pairs of wings; and of a crowning group, placed above the large central panel. Of the two pairs of wings one is stationary, the other movable. The central panel presents the Death of Our Lady, consisting of figures above life-size, sculptured in the round. The two pairs of wings and the predella are



Annunciation, Wit Stwosz Altar-Piece.

filled with reliefs, in the main showing scenes from the life of the Blessed Virgin. The whole is enclosed in rich Gothic decorative frames surmounted by canopies.

"For 450 years the triptych was the pride and love of every Pole, a monument to Polish skill and Polish labour," writes George Mihan in his book *Looted Treasure—Germany's Raid on Art*, recently published in London. During those long years, the altar-piece, while essentially in good condition, was several times renovated. The last and the most extensive restoration was expertly carried out by independent Poland between the two World Wars. This restoration, begun in 1932 and finished three years later, is fully described by Earl Morse Wilbur, in the *Liturgical Arts*, 1935, No. 2. The writer concludes his illuminating article with these words: "Those who have seen the work of restoration since its completion are enthusiastic at its success. It is regarded as the most important undertaking of the sort in Poland, and this happy restoration of a great masterpiece was quite the most striking event in all its four hundred and fifty years' history, since the death of its maker."

Just before the German invasion of Poland, in August 1939, the altar-piece was taken apart, packed in cases, and hidden in the small town of Sandomierz. After the occupation of this town by the Germans, however, it was discovered and removed to Nurnberg, in one of whose churches the Germans planned to place it, but found out that it was too large. As the war progressed they hid the dismantled altar-piece in the cellars of a medieval Nurnberg castle, where in due time it was discovered by the American Army and returned to Cracow, one hundred cases being required to carry the 446 pieces. Now the altar-piece is undergoing another thorough restoration, made necessary by the triptych's mishandling and long peregrinations. This restoration, chiefly sponsored

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Hands of An Apostle, Wit Stwosz Altar-Piece.

Ann Su Cardwell's Letter.

No. 176, January 5, 1948

600 WEST 115th STREET, NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

IN BEGINNING THIS FIRST LETTER of 1948 I want to stress the necessity of further change in American thinking with regard to Eastern Europe. Americans should rid themselves of the idea that Eastern European countries are "in the Moscow sphere" and that we, therefore, have neither the right nor the responsibility to take any action in behalf of those peoples. In Kremlin thinking the world is "Moscow's sphere." The only difference between Eastern European peoples and those of the West, so far as Moscow is concerned, is that the former are already under Bolshevik control. A second wrong conception entertained by many Americans is that "Russia must be contained." Nothing could be more erroneous. One might as well talk of containing cancer. Even if we were so immoral as to consent to throwing the more than 100,000,000 people east of the Stettin-Trieste line to the wolves in the hope of saving ourselves, even if Stalin were to agree to such "containment," how much, in view of Moscow's record in honoring treaties, would that agreement be worth?

More recently a third suggestion gains favor. That is, that if the Marshall Plan can be made to restore Western European prosperity, the Eastern European countries will be drawn out of the Soviet orbit and into the West. But if those Eastern peoples are now compelled to take orders from Moscow, if they are now at the mercy of Soviet secret police, if their leaders and most able individuals are being deliberately exterminated, what hope is there that they will be permitted to speak for themselves later on when the iron curtain becomes as impenetrable as that which shuts off the USSR from the rest of the world?

And if American thinking changes, American action should follow. The first action should be repudiation of the Yalta agreement and the consequences of that agreement. As I have repeatedly written, that agreement was made by men who had no authority to conclude such an accord, and it was made without the knowledge of the American people. Even had our President been empowered to so act in our name, the treaty has not been honored by Moscow—the one government demanding the conditions of that accord. If we are going to attempt to form a foreign policy based on decency even approaching the lofty ideals expressed during the first war years we will be obliged to admit the mistakes to which we have clung, each one leading us farther into difficulties, and begin with a cleaned slate. Nothing we could do would bring us more friends in Eastern Europe, not all the propaganda we could scatter with the "Voice of America" and the printed word would do so much to counteract the continuous campaign of lies about us carried on by Moscow and its agents throughout all Europe, as would our repudiation of our despicable agreements with the Stalin crowd. Let us talk and work to achieve that repudiation.

The Moscow radio on Dec. 10th gave excerpts from the speech made by Malenkov, one of the two Soviet delegates to the conference held in Polish Silesia in September to organize the Cominform. Since Malenkov is a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party his remarks on Communist foreign policy may be considered authoritative. Here is a paragraph particularly noteworthy: "The Soviet Communist Party pays especial attention to foreign policy and attaches

great significance to the schooling of groups for the purpose of carrying out that policy. Communists will be taught how to defend Soviet interests in international affairs. The burden of class war has been transferred from Russia to the international field. The United States and Britain are not keeping their promises made during the war and are seeking support among the enemies of democracy. Plans have been prepared for a new war against the Soviet Union and the new democratic states. Government circles in America are playing the chief role in this action."

This broadcast was made two months after the conference when the speech was delivered. The long wait can be explained probably on the ground that Moscow was not then ready to show how definite its plans were. With the time of the second meeting of the Cominform approaching, with Moscow about ready to show its hand in Greece, the time seemed ripe to let people of the USSR know how Communism was reaching out beyond their borders. At the same time it was a very clear definition of the role the Cominform is destined to play, a point that should be brought to the attention of the people who believe that "Russia can be contained."

"If we could only get to know the Russians better—if they could only have a chance to know what we really are like" sigh some Americans. They forget how Ehrenburg and his journalistic companions wrote and talked when they returned to Russia after their American tour. Or perhaps they have never had an opportunity to read those astonishing reports. If they have not had that opportunity the following should be of interest: Some months ago two delegations of Soviet scientists accepted invitations to attend a medical conference in Oxford and a conference of chemists in London. Britons who were of the opinion that such contacts are of great advantage to Britain welcomed the coming of these delegates. How great that advantage, may be estimated from the report on England written by Prof. Palladin, president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, for the Moscow "Literary Gazette" after his return to Russia from attending the Oxford meeting. There was unpleasantness from the very start, he writes, for the British had not supplied special planes for the 8-man delegation to fly from Berlin to London, so that 4 had to go one day and 4 the next. "Such a scandalous happening would be unthinkable in our country," writes the highly offended citizen of the USSR.

Things were still worse in London. The Soviet delegation was not provided with automobiles. "Fortunately, however, we did not have to use the dirty buses and the out-of-repair underground trains," as the Soviet ambassador to Britain stepped in and gave the visitors a car. But the rich American ambassador did not provide cars for the American delegates, who had to travel by bus; and this was evidence of American lack of interest in education and science. The Russians were assigned to one of the largest of the London hotels. But Prof. Palladin complains that "They gave us very little bread in the morning and at dinner and supper none at all," which appeared outrageous to the visitors from the USSR.

The British press displeased them, for it wrote much about the wedding of Princess Elizabeth and nothing at all about the "crisis" and paid no attention to "us and the Congress." And if London was bad, Oxford was

worse. For there the delegates were housed in student quarters, where there was not a single comfort. They had to eat with the students, at common wooden tables without tablecloths. (How unfortunate that the British had neglected to further the education of the Soviet delegates by acquainting them with the long Oxford traditions.) Moreover, the British had the temerity to request the savants from Moscow to give their addresses in English or French. "You speak those languages fluently," they said, "while we do not know Russian." But we sharply rejected this hypocritical proposal, for we could not agree to such humiliating treatment of Soviet science." The Russians replied to the request by saying, "When we fought German fascism the Russian language was good enough for you, but now you don't like it. You must remember that it is the language of a great victorious state, the language of a people that has created the most progressive form of government in the world. If you don't like that language, then we can withdraw from the conference altogether." And the professor triumphantly concludes that the Soviet delegates spoke in Russian and were listened to with the greatest interest.

"That incident shows," he declares, "how great is the responsibility of Soviet scientists when abroad and how it is not permitted them to yield one inch in questions where the honor and dignity of the Soviet citizen are concerned, and certainly no humiliation by the West can be tolerated." As for the conference results, Prof. Palladin announces that "science in the West made no progress during the war, while Soviet science had made gigantic advance . . . It became apparent that we have nothing to learn from the West. Our system and our learning are on a much higher level."

Those are only bits of the learned man's report, but they are enough to enable you to estimate the advantage gained by the British through reports carried back to Russia after firsthand contacts with life in the West. No matter how the Soviet citizen may feel about those contacts he must write about them as his Government expects him to write. But in the report of Palladin one is especially struck and amused by the complaint of lack of privileges—this man, a delegate from "the greatest democracy the world has ever known."

Czechoslovakia has been the one Eastern European country that until recently has been able to preserve a certain degree of freedom of action with regard to the West. But when Moscow bluntly refused to permit it to have any part in the Marshall Plan, Czech troubles began to increase rapidly. There was the great need of food grain, for instance. Moscow promised 200,000 tons, but how long it was before even a token amount arrived, and little evidence is materializing that Stalin's promise that not only the 200,000 tons but the additional 150,000 *Czechoslovakia* had wanted from the United States will be delivered by Moscow by April 1948. The Czechs will be greatly surprised if the amount received is anything in the neighborhood of 350,000 tons; and needless to say, they would be very much more inclined to friendship with Moscow.

The Czechs have been learning a good many things about Moscow these years, not the least of that education coming from commercial negotiations. They agreed to accept iron ore from the USSR, and found that either as the result of ignorance or design the ore sent them contained sulphur, which ruined their great furnaces. The Soviet cotton was found to be of exceedingly poor quality; but in exchange for that raw material the Soviets demand finished products of the highest grade. Furthermore, Moscow frequently rejects Czech manufactured goods on the ground that they are inferior products. One such rejection concerned a shipment of boots and shoes, which were returned after having been so badly slashed that the Czechs could not sell them on the home market.

As for *Slovakia*, that is a story all by itself, as from all reports Moscow is getting ready to separate it from *Czechy* and take it into the USSR. But the going is not easy for the Slovaks are not inexperienced in the ways of the Communists.

Yugoslavia's Tito has been successfully carrying out Moscow's orders in the formation of a Balkan Soviet Union. He has signed up Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania. He had earlier made mutual assistance pacts with Poland and Albania. And *Czechoslovakia* has such a pact with Poland, perhaps with others. At any rate, all the states of Eastern Europe are being tied together, with the Balkan group in still closer union. The importance of Soviet control of this area through Stalin's Yugoslav alter ego in the person of Tito will be more and more evident as the struggle for Greece develops. It does not add to our self-respect when we remind ourselves that Tito is in power because of our assistance.

In Poland the campaign to make the Soviet Union appear Poland's best friend, in fact Poland's only real friend, keeps pace with the unrelenting campaign of belittling and bismirching America. As an example of the former, we have the exhibits in the National Museum in Warsaw during the month of November. There were exhibits of the Red Army, of engravings and drawings by various Soviet artists, collections of documentary photographs showing the growth of Moscow during its 800 years of existence, exhibits from the different Soviet republics.

The thirtieth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution was played up the whole month. In fact, although the month was supposed to be devoted to a cultural exchange between Russia and Poland, the occasion was used purely for Soviet propaganda purposes. The Poles were given visual evidence that all good things, all human progress comes from the Soviet Union. The October Revolution (1917) was pictured as having brought to the working people a real paradise. There were special graphs and illustrations showing "the splendid social and political structure" of Soviet Russia and the achievements of recent years. The exhibits were designed to show the superiority of Soviet over Anglo-Saxon culture in the realm of education and art.

While the puppet regime press and radio rival those of Moscow in inventing lies about America and Britain and puppet regime officials hurl invectives at prominent Americans, the leading member of the Warsaw Supreme Court, Bzowski, writes in the Polish lawyers' magazine, "The State and Law," that "Anti-Soviet propaganda in Poland is, alas, prevalent. The underground elements carry it on, the Germans (?) and a considerable number of reactionary-minded citizens traditionally anti-Russian or anti-democratic in spirit. The number of court cases of this sort proves that the problem is real and that a solution is required."

The writer continues at length, concluding that the solution lies in the application of Art. 22 of a decree of June 13, 1946 to the handling of cases of anti-Soviet talk. That article declares that "Any person spreading false information that might prove harmful to the interests of the Polish state or lower the prestige of its institutions will be liable to imprisonment of as much as 5 years." This chief justice under the puppets declares that only the Soviet Union can assure Poland a future and that whoever would start trouble between those two states is working for the ruin of Poland. Hence, punish such persons precisely as those who work against Poland itself are punished.

Here is the opinion expressed in black on white of a Soviet stooge. However, what he recommends has long been in practice. No criticism of the Soviet Union or its policies has been tolerated since the "liberation" of Poland by the Red Army and the imposition of first the Lublin Committee and then the Provisional Government, which was only another name for the same group of Soviet-controlled, Soviet-trained men, as the government of Poland.

"PRISONERS OF THE NIGHT"

A REVIEW BY PAUL SUPER*

THIS IS A novel, but it is solidly based on the experiences of a highly intelligent young Pole captured by the Russians in the autumn of 1939 while attempting to escape from Poland into Hungary after the partition of Poland by the German and Russian armies. He was taken to one of Russia's sadly numerous forced labor camps and, with a million and a half of his countrymen, saw that side of Soviet life for almost two years. Many of them still see it. But the novel is only a vehicle for carrying a far more important burden than the rather slight story of Dr. Wolski, the hero, Rena Ronska, his prewar fiancée, and the group of camp officials and inmates amid whom the lot of the prisoners was cast. It is a document in narrative form, an important aspect of contemporary history made very readable by the using of facts as the experiences of imaginary individuals. Changing the figure, it is a window into a room filled with dark events and tragic distress. As a novel it is fiction, as a record it is fact.

The descriptions of camp scenes and personalities are vivid, the episodes are authentic, amply verified by a wide acquaintance with similar stories from real life related by trustworthy narrators, sometimes in my own home.

The story opens with the end of the long march of 300 exhausted prisoners, men and women, and their arrival at Camp No. 90, where the sick and utterly worn out are left while the others proceed farther north, though they are already beyond the 65th parallel of latitude, far up near the Arctic Ocean in that part of Russia our side of the Ural Mountains. Swollen legs, torn and wounded feet bandaged with dirty rags, haggard bluish faces blotched with the bites of fierce mosquitoes and blood-thirsty gnats, bodies too weary to feel even hunger or cold or thirst, these are the visible evidences of the initial hardships of the deported. NKVD guards with bayonets ever ready to prick the lagging, savage dogs trained to tear to pieces anyone who dare break from the column, and the shooting of those unable to proceed farther, these things kept the line in order and moving. The barking of the dogs, the cursing of the guards, the groans of the prisoners, these were the sounds of the march. When the camp is reached, all sink down in exhaustion and in a state near to complete collapse.

From this mass of weary humanity rises the one who is to be the central figure of the story, young Dr. Wolski from Lwow, Poland's once great and lovely city of the southeast. We get the form and feel of Camp 90, a huge stockade, high wooden watch-towers at the gates and at each corner, long rows of wooden barracks for the prisoners. It is near the Pechora River, 400 miles east of the White Sea, in the province of Komi, and the land of the midnight sun, endless daylight in summer, endless dark in the depth of winter. As the number of the sick and worn-out was large, Dr. Wolski was detained at Camp 90 to practise his profession of physician and surgeon.

We are introduced into two barracks, No. 2 for the political prisoners, No. 5 for the criminals, each characteristic of its kind. No. 2: "The room was saturated with a heavy stench, compounded of the reek of filthy human bodies and the acrid odor of the latrine which was right behind the barracks." Dysentery, vermin, and dirt were added miseries. Lice and cockroaches abounded. A Ukrainian summed it up: "Everything stinks here.

All of you stink. Your bodies stink, your lives, your hearts, your souls." Misery unspeakable, indescribable—the short early chapters of the book picture it as nearly as words can.

Now for the other group. "Lice were rare in Barracks No. 5. Experienced jailbirds, familiar with prison life, they valued cleanliness and knew how to care for themselves much better than the helpless political prisoners. Every day men assigned to duty (by a self-elected chief prisoner) tidied up the barracks. Once a week the floor and walls were scrubbed. The prisoners bribed the guards and then blackmailed them. An unwritten but rigid code of conduct ruled the lives and deeds of the inmates of Barracks No. 5."

Other characters emerge and the plot takes form. The chief characters are Kuropatov, the camp commandant; Vasyi, the camp idiot and the butt of coarse practical jokes; Col. Blum, the district commander; Borysov, the head of the government tailoring establishment employing hundreds of women; Dr. Kalt, the chief physician; Dr. Sazonova, his woman assistant; Donvild, an Estonian officer; Karlsen, a disillusioned Swedish Communist; others.

Conversations of Dr. Wolski with camp officials are used as a means of bringing out aspects of Communist philosophy, standardized phraseology, cant and hypocritical statements, salient facts of Soviet life and practice, and the effects of the Soviet system on mind and body. The love element in the story grows out of Wolski's association with the woman doctor. There is a terrifying description of the amputation of a gangrene leg without the use of an anesthetic; a satisfying description of how Wolski beat up the camp commander; the story of Donvild's escape and fate; the nearness of Rena Ronska but Wolski's failure to meet her till at the very end of the tale, and then—well, that is the story.

Wolski's services as a camp physician and his wisdom and discretion lead to his obtaining a degree of camp freedom, only a day or two old when the Polish-Russian agreements of the late summer and early autumn of 1941 secure liberty for him and for many other Poles who were reached by the news of the decrees and were able to make the long marches and cattle-car journeys to join the new Polish army being assembled at three designated places. Their grand anticipations, to be so tragically disappointed in the very near future, are all told in one brief paragraph:

"The feeling of freedom took hold swiftly. Soon their optimism was unlimited. The young ones would join the army, the old ones would stay in wonderful places in the south where it was never cold and there was plenty of food. The war would soon be over and they could return to Poland. They would reunite their scattered families and rebuild their homes. . . ."

As indicated above, the story, though truly interesting, is itself not important; it is merely an effective medium for the vivid narration of the elements of life in the forced labor and prison camps of the USSR and the kinds of persons met there, as commanders, minor officials, guards, political prisoners, and criminals, if, indeed, the commanders, officials, and guards are not the chief criminals.

The translating is well done, and even one knowing Polish sees few traces of the original language. The book has value far beyond its pretensions as a novel and one hopes for a wide reading by Americans not yet fully aware of the nature and character of the USSR. As a story "Prisoners of the Night" is entertaining; as a document it is authentic and revealing.

**Prisoners of the Night*. By Andrew Corwin Romanski, translated by Walter M. Besterman and Blair Taylor. The Bobbs-Merrill Co., New York and Indianapolis. 260 pages. \$2.75.

THE ALPHABET OF INFAMY FOR THE UNENLIGHTENED

A stands for Arrest, aggression, atheism, appeasement, abuse, and abomination.
B stands for Bluff, blood, blackmail, and Bierut.
C stands for Communism, Cominform, conspiracy, chaos, and cheat.
D stands for Deportations, displaced, dupe, diatribe, dictator, duplicity, deceit, disloyalty, and "Daily Worker."
E stands for Expansion, "election," espionage, and exploitation.
F stands for Forced labor, "friendly governments," fifth column, and falsehood.
G stands for Gromyko, — well, that's enough for one letter.
H stands for Hatred, horror, hypocrite, and hell.
I stands for Intrigue, inquisition, infiltration, invective, and infamy.
J stands for Jail, janissary, jargon, and jacquerie.
K stands for Kolkhozy, Kremlin, Katyn, and kill.
L stands for "Liberation," liquidation, lust, and labor camp.
M stands for Molotov, mendacity, murder, Moscow, and Minc.
N stands for NKVD, nullification, negotiations, and nonsense.

O stands for Oppression, oblivion, objection, and obfuscation.
P stands for Prison, persecution, penetration, purge, and partition of Poland.
Q stands for Queues, quislings, quarrels, and quibbles.
R stands for Russia, red, robbery, rape, and ruthless rotten rascals.
S stands for Stalin, Soviet, stealing, suspicion, slavery, slander, and starvation.
T stands for Tovarish, totalitarian, treachery, torture, and Teheran.
U stands for Unrestraint, ugliness, usurpation, and ubiquity.
V stands for Vishinsky, vituperation, villification, venom, and vulgarity. (It stands for them all for the present but it is getting awfully tired of them.)
W stands for What happened to 4,000 Polish officers at Katyn?
X stands for Xpropriate, xpatriate, xband, and xplode.
Y stands for Yalta.
Z stands for Zenith, the USSR until recently. Then zany, zigzag, and zero.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE POLISH BOUNDARY DISPUTE AT YALTA

(Continued from page 3)

REJECTED BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, in an official note of July 17, 1920, AS UNJUST AND UNFAVORABLE TO POLAND. In the same note the Soviet Government expressed its intention TO GRANT POLAND MORE TERRITORY IN THE EAST THAN WAS OFFERED BY THE BRITISH CURZON LINE PROPOSAL. The SOVIET GOVERNMENT also branded the British proposal as "AN INTRIGUE OF REACTIONARY RUSSIAN EMIGREES IN PARIS" who intended to diminish Poland's territory.

At Yalta, however, Stalin did not mention any of these facts. In effect, he himself demanded a line like that proposed by "reactionary Russian emigres." Unfortunately, once more his method of distortion triumphed.

The British armistice line proposal in 1920 provided that "in EASTERN GALICIA EACH ARMY WILL STAND ON THE LINE WHICH THEY OCCUPY AT THE DATE OF THE SIGNATURE OF THE ARMISTICE." At the peak of its advance into Poland, THE RED ARMY NEVER CAPTURED LWOW AND THE OIL FIELDS, NEVER WERE EAST OF THE SO-CALLED CURZON LINE.

The British note to the Soviet Government also contained an error which—in a proper and fair atmosphere—would not be open to misinterpretation. A description of the Clemenceau Line was included in the Curzon

note. The error consisted in adding to the Clemenceau Line an extension through former Austrian territory (Galicia), which left Lwow and the oil fields to the East. This delimitation, however, actually referred to another Galician subject of discussion and was not intended for inclusion in Curzon's note to the Soviet Government.

By inclusion of this careless and incorrect description of the Clemenceau Line, the Curzon note proposed TWO CONFLICTING LINES in Galicia, Poland. Stalin, in presenting his case at Yalta, naturally chose to demand the erroneous one simply because it was advantageous for him; it granted him Lwow and the oil fields.

Furthermore, it gave him the chance to bargain on a new compromise line in case Roosevelt and Churchill exposed the error in the Curzon note, but nobody exposed it.

In newspapers and even in encyclopedias descriptions of the Curzon Line include this error. The mistake never was rectified before 1944, as the whole Curzon proposition was discarded after its rejection by the Soviet Government. Not until January, 1944, was it exhumed by the Soviet Commissariat for foreign affairs.

These are the facts about the Clemenceau Line and the so-called Curzon Line which the American public should know to evaluate Mr. Byrnes' revelations of the Yalta Polish boundary debate. These facts were known to Roosevelt and Churchill but were not used to oppose Stalin's claims at Yalta.

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A LATVIAN SPEAKS

A YOUNG Latvian, recently arrived in Sweden after escaping from the hands of the NKVD, has made a most intelligent and significant report on certain phases of life as he saw it in Soviet occupied countries. Here are excerpts from that report as it appeared in Newsletter from Behind the Iron Curtain of November 28:

"When the Soviets reoccupied Latvia in 1944, I managed to go through a ship engineer's course and found employment on smaller craft in the harbor of Riga. In 1946 I was transferred to Tallinn, Estonia, where I worked in the harbor for 8 months. Then I returned to Riga. In 1947 the NKVD began persecuting me, having discovered that my parents had been 'enemies of the people,' (his parents had been deported) and I fled to Poland. In Gdynia I was arrested by the Poles and handed over to the local Russian authorities. They kept me in prison for a few months and then sent me to Russia. At a railway station I managed to escape, secretly boarded a Swedish steamer, and got to Sweden. I have also been in Libau, Konigsberg, and Pillau."

So much for his credentials. Now for his remarks.

"Much war booty has come to the Baltic ports from Germany . . . in the form of industrial installations and war material. From these ports it is transported to the Soviet inland by rail. War material went mainly via Riga and Tallinn. A large part of it was anti-aircraft guns. The Department of auxiliary craft and ports provided transport. Its ships have a flag of their own—a blue rectangle with the hammer and sickle on white in the upper left-hand corner. Whole shiploads of railroad rails came from Germany, where entire railroad lines had been torn up; also from Poland, whose lines had suffered the same fate. Lately the traffic in war booty has somewhat abated. Traffic is liveliest between Riga and Stettin. The latter is the principal export port of Polish coal . . . (Note that point.)

"I have seen no foreign ships either in Riga, Libau, or Tallinn. In Tallinn, though, there were some Finnish ships which had come with a cargo of paper. Transport in general is very disorganized, nothing ever arrived as scheduled.

"There is a naval port near Riga, at Bolderaa . . . In Riga I have seen trawlers and speedboats carrying coast-guard service and more in coastal waters. The coast is also patrolled by aircraft. All of which makes escape from the Baltic area by sea extremely difficult . . . In Libau considerable numbers of submarines could often be seen. On occasion the port was visited by warships and cruisers. . . .

"Many Red troops are now stationed both in Latvia and Estonia, considerably more than under the first occupation. In Estonia the largest detachments are concentrated in and around Tartu. In Tallinn the navy are in the majority and there are constant fights between the sailors and the 'landlubbers'—that is, all land troops. This hostility seems to be of long standing and the sailors take every opportunity to attack the soldiers. These fights usually occur in public houses and at dances . . . While I was in Tallinn, there was a big fight—a regular battle—in the hall of the Fire Brigade Building where dances are often arranged, and the Fire Brigade had to interfere. . . .

"In this country (Sweden) I have often heard people express their admiration for the prowess of the Red Army in the recent war. I am afraid I have no very high opinion of the Soviet forces and I believe that their successes were in the highest degree due to the aid they received from the Western Allies. To this day the troops as well

as the civil authorities both in Riga and Tallinn use cars almost exclusively of American make. In Riga I have noticed only *two* Soviet cars. The cars one sees are Fords, Studebakers, and 'Viluses' . . . A Soviet car of the type Pobieda (Victory) . . . is quite nice-looking and moves smoothly. The motor is said, however, to have irremediable defects even when new. The other Soviet car I saw in Riga was a Zis-110 (Zis stands for Zavod imeni Stalina—Factory named for Stalin). Soviet trucks are somewhat more frequent . . . They are said to be very inferior, breaking down frequently. New types of motors have not been manufactured during the war or since.

"Almost all men in the USSR wear uniforms, even those who have never been in the army. It is impossible to obtain civilian clothes . . . Special permits are no longer necessary for railway travel; one's identity papers, however, have to be in order. This freedom contributes to the flood of Russian beggars and speculators that pours into the Baltic area. The number of Russians in Latvia is probably larger even than in Estonia and it increases with every passing day. These people are most strikingly in evidence in Riga, where the local inhabitants are driven out of their dwellings under all sorts of pretexts to make room for them . . . Another thing—although the Baltic area is now plunged in utter misery and destitution, conditions in Russia proper must be far worse, as great crowds of starving Russians are daily making their way to Latvia and Estonia in the hope of finding food and shelter there. Among these people are women with small children who believe that the Baltic countries are very rich and people there so kind and generous that they even buy little children. In December 1946 I have with my own eyes seen how a Russian woman offered her children, a boy of four and a girl of six, for sale on the marketplace in Riga, saying they would all die of starvation if nobody took pity on the little ones.

"Across the river Daugava in Riga there is a large public square, where the great song festivals of independent Latvia took place. It is now used for mass executions of German war criminals caught in Latvia and Estonia. Several gallows have been erected there, the criminals are driven in trucks, one man to a truck, under these gallows, the ropes are put round their necks, and the trucks drive on . . . I have heard that this form of execution was used by the Germans in Poland; now the Russians have adopted it. The townspeople are driven in great crowds to witness these executions, in the factories work is stopped and the workers marched to the spectacle in a body. The proceedings are filmed and shown in the movie houses.

"People have been deported and half-forcibly transferred to distant Kolyma on the Arctic Ocean, where they are employed as lumbermen, in the building of large settlements, in the fishing industry, and in prospecting for various ores. The following little song is reported to be very popular in the USSR:

(in translation)

"Kolyma, Kolyma	Kolyma, Kolyma
Novaia planeta	Quite a new planet
12 messiatsev zima	Winter there is 12 months long
Ostalnoie lieto.	The rest of the year is summer.

"The people (of the Baltic states) are waiting and longing for a war. Dissatisfaction is now immeasurably greater even among the Soviet citizens than before the war—none of the promises made them having materialized. Many simple people believe that a war may bring a change of regime and a turn for the better. . . ."

WIT STWOSZ AND HIS GREAT ALTAR-PIECE IN CRACOW

(Continued from page 9)

by the donations of the Polish population from all over the country, has recently been stopped short by the lack of appropriate materials, especially the lack of good and safe paints, unavailable in Poland.

The proceedings of this latter renovation are described and splendidly illustrated in the September 22nd issue of *Life*, in an article entitled "Cracow's Carvings." However, misinformation has slipped into the introductory statements of *Life's* article, and letters written by American friends of Poland have been received by *The Polish Review* and Polish-American organizations, asking clarification of this matter.

Life magazine explains that in the early war days the Germans, deciding that "the badly deteriorated" altar-piece needed restoration, took it apart, etc." As pointed out above, the triptych was expertly restored shortly before the war, and was by no means "badly deteriorated" when the Germans stole it. They stole it, as they stole hundreds and thousands of other Polish works of art, partly to enrich their own art treasures, but primarily to bring about the cultural extinction of Poland. This is a well known fact, often commented upon in the leading American and British newspapers and magazines and needs no further documentation in this place. That the Germans wished to transform Cracow, the centuries-long capital of Poland, into a German city, and considered everything in it to be of German

origin, is another of these well-established facts. How cleverly they tried to eradicate everything that pointed to Cracow's high, indigenous culture, is recently proved once more in a report by I. B. Melchior, entitled "Cracow Behm Codex, Stolen by the Nazis, Returned by the Americans," printed in the December 1947 issue of *Vogue*. Anyone still in doubt as to the Germans' true intentions and their dealings with Polish works of art, will find this article extremely enlightening.

Life magazine of September 22nd also states that "because Poland had no famous sculptors, the wealthy burghers of Cracow who paid for the job, hired Veit Stoss, a famous wood-carver of Nurnberg." As was customary in Poland of the time, most of her artists, organized into guilds, remained anonymous. But Poland had a long tradition in the field of church sculpture, which began to flower with the beginning of the 12th century. Cracow did not ask Wit Stwosz to come because it had no artists of its own, but because of the desire to enrich its own ranks of sculptors; just as America has for many years sponsored and still is sponsoring the talents of many Europeans out of interest in art itself, certainly not because of lack of talented native artists.

Furthermore, when the Cracow citizens invited young Wit Stwosz he was not yet the "famous wood-carver of Nurnberg." He was not famous at all when he arrived at Cracow; he became famous precisely through the opportunity Cracow gave him.

CERTAIN ASPECTS OF LIFE IN POLAND TODAY

(Continued from page 5)

tion to prices. Savings were swept away in the spring of 1945, when old currency gave place to new and only 500 zlotys of the old could be exchanged. The food a workman can buy on his ration card is not enough for

more than 20 days, provided such articles are to be had. On the open market, the prices are astronomical, and people who in prewar days bought butter in three or four pound rolls now buy a quarter of a pound and are happy to be able to do that.

OBSERVATIONS

(Continued from page 7)

West, the terms indicate the rule of the people, by the people, for the people. This is the classic sense of the term "democracy." To the Russians and puppets the term means rule over the people, by a terrorist gang, supported by a vast body of secret police, and in complete power. There is a "demos" in each definition. Ours liberates and elevates the demos; the Russian application of the term debases and enslaves the demos, the people.

Bierut, Russia's stooge president of Poland, stood before the people not long ago and said, "I stand before you with heart clean and unsullied by the epidemic of cowardice and treason." The base hypocrite. This from a man who turned traitor to betray his country to Soviet Russia. In a free country such a farce of a man would be rotten-egged from the platform. But in Poland there are too many secret police and informers watching for potential egg-throwers. Well, pup. Bierut, we here pass you the eggs.

The present Soviet-imposed Government of Poland is the very essence of evil. It is

the denial of everything we and the Poles hold dear. The Christian religion; democracy; liberty; individuality; initiative; freedom of thought, speech, press, and action; the rights of man; representative government; the right to and use of property; the enjoyment of a degree of personal and economic security. Which will America support? At Yalta we helped create the beast. Let us now repudiate Yalta and line up back of moral and legitimate elected and representative governments. Let us withdraw all support or recognition of Poland's Soviet-imposed government of oppression, deportation, murder, expropriation, and exploitation. If such a rule is not good enough for us, how dare we help impose it on Poland?

Our very definite goal. Poland: free, independent, restored, entire, compensated, democratic in the Christian Western sense.

The Evolution of Banditry

1. The seizing of the democratic revolution by the Bolsheviks in 1917.
2. The seizing of all property by them.
3. Their seizing of bordering small states.
4. Their seizing of their neighboring large

states.

5. Their attempts to seize all of Europe.
6. Now guess the next step in their plans.

Genocide: the Murder of a Race

Three steps in the Russian murder of the Polish nation are clearly marked.

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2. The murder of 12,000 Polish officers, prisoners of war, in Katyn and other camps.
3. The present-day deportation and disappearance of Polish leaders from Poland. There is, indeed, no class discrimination in this matter. If a person becomes a leader of opposition to Russia, be he aristocrat, peasant, working man, or city professional or business man, he disappears. Thus the nation is being reduced to a leaderless mass of serfs. Freedom must come soon or there will be nothing left to free. The same applies to Lithuanians, Estonians, and all who resist Moscow.

Genocide: the murder of a race. I accuse.

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